

UNCHANGINGNESS IN CHANGE

The Changed Self-image of Budapest Jewish Groups in the Interwar Years as a Result of the Changed Borders in the Carpathian Basin¹

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Abstract: In Central Europe the social and cultural processes within various groups of Jews before the First World War were determined by the imperial frames. While the nation states that came into being set the general frames, the attitude of the Jews towards modernity as a process, their religious and cultural strategies extended beyond these frames. The new borders drawn after the First World War fundamentally changed the social and cultural environment in which the earlier Jewish strategies had emerged and functioned; and shaped their attitude towards Hungarian symbolic politics. After 1920 there was also a change in the proportions of the different Jewish trends in Hungary. The group strategies of the denominations and movements represented in the Hungarian-language Jewish press in Hungary interpreted Hungarian symbolic politics after the Trianon peace dictate in different ways and incorporated these interpretations in their discourses. The borders appeared not only in their physical state as an unbridgeable reality that had to be dealt with but also created new borders in the organisation of groups and society.

Keywords: borders, cultural memory, symbolic politics, Orthodoxy, Chasidism, Neology, Zionism, Hungary, Trianon peace treaty

“There are countries that are surrounded for miles by mountains and forests, so that one can only leave them through gates. Hungary is such a country.”

(Rashi commentary on the Babylonian Talmud Yoma 11a)

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In this study we examine how the changed borders following the First World War appeared in the discourses of the Jewish press in Hungary. *What borders in reality and awareness did these borders represent? How did the political borders appear in the everyday practice of the communities? How did they adapt to the discourse on the borders, to cultural memory and symbolic politics in Hungary? Within this frame, what symbols and notions did they use and how did these build on the representations of self-definition in the period of the Dual Monarchy?* The chosen theme places social discourse on the borders in a little-studied light: it examines the institutional and symbolic impact of the new borders within a particular denomination.² The period covered extends from the drawing of the new borders in 1920 to the “moment” of the revision that was made. Our article does not deal with the new structure that was taking shape in the returned territories or with the internal impact this had on the revision discourse.³

THE PRESS AS SOURCE

In this article we examine the press as a modern phenomenon. According to Sarah Abrevaya Stein, among Jewry in the Modern Age the press was both the manifestation and the mechanism of change.⁴ The papers of Orthodox and Neolog Jews and the Zionist movement showed a very different picture of the questions raised. This arises from the attitude to modernity and the national ideal.⁵ The Neolog paper *Egyenlőség* [Equality]⁶ and the Zionist *Zsidó Szemle* [Jewish Review]⁷ can both be regarded as *consciously modernising*. They reinterpret religious traditions as a function of modern categories. But the national ideal is a dividing line between them: Neology aligned itself to the dominant national ideal merely as a denomination, but the Zionist movement, while retaining its loyalty, cultivated its own Jewish national ideal. The different forms of Orthodoxy and Chasidism pursued

² Although the historical studies have touched on the connection between cult and religion from the angle of the social discourse and cult that arose around the Trianon peace dictate, cf. SAJTI 2004: 132; ZEIDLER 2002: 14, 18, this cannot be regarded as a study on the subject of the denominational adaptation of the discourse.

³ This would exceed the scope of an article and in the absence of identical source groups the different Jewish institutional strategies cannot be followed in this period.

⁴ ABREVAYA STEIN 2004: 16.

⁵ See GLESZER – ZIMA 2009a.

⁶ *Egyenlőség – Társadalmi hetilap* [Equality – Social weekly] (1882–1938) was edited by Mór Bogdányi (1854–1923), followed by Miksa Szabolcsi (1857–1915), and his son, Lajos Szabolcsi (1890–1943). On many questions the opinion that it expressed cannot be identified closely with the Pest Israelite Congregation, it much rather reflects the strategy of the Budapest Neolog circle that can be observed around the paper.

⁷ The Budapest *Zsidó Néplap – Társadalmi és szépirodalmi hetilap* [Jewish Popular Paper – Social and literary weekly] (1904–1905) edited by Lajos Dörmény (1880–1914) can be regarded as the beginning of the Zionist press. The Hungarian Zionist Organisation dates its paper from 1910; it was edited by Lajos Bató, Benjámin Beregi, Oszkár Hammerschlag, Leo Lukács, Mózes Richtmann and József Schönfeld from 1911 as *Zsidó Szemle* [Jewish Review]. In 1919 it appeared as *Jövőnk – Zsidó társadalmi hetilap* [Our Future – Jewish social weekly], then from 1920 to 1938 again under the name of *Zsidó Szemle – Zsidó hetilap. Múlt és Jövő – Irodalmi, művészeti, társadalmi és kritikai folyóirat* [Past and Future – Literary, artistic, social and critical journal] (1911–1944) – not discussed here – belonging to a circle of young Neologists represented by József Patai who broke away from *Egyenlőség*, which was the voice of the cultural Zionist and later the Zionist trend.

a strategy *aspiring for traditionalism*. Religious tradition, authority and legitimacy served as the frame for interpretation. They were represented in the period examined by the *Zsidó Újság* [Jewish Newspaper] and the *Orthodox Zsidó Újság* [Orthodox Jewish Newspaper].⁸ These were all papers targeting specific groups in Budapest and dealt with middle-class problems on the one hand, and with institutional strategies on the other.

BORDERS AND SYMBOLIC POLITICS

Hungarian society in the interwar years was imbued with the question of borders. There was no political force in the country that did not place the emphasis on the question of territorial revision. At the same time, beyond the political elite, the entire Hungarian society experienced the feeling of a collective, national loss induced by the peace treaty. But this was only a mood rather than action.⁹

The question of the borders also imbued the key ideological and historical concepts of the period. Miklós Zeidler approaches the cult-like manifestations of the social and political issues of borders from the angle of verbal or visual topoi or commonplaces that form an integral part of public awareness and public thinking. He regards the adjectives *Christian*, *national*, *counter-revolutionary* or *irredentist*, that were “self-definitions of the political system and in part of the period”, to be such topoi.¹⁰

The cult concept of Zeidler’s investigation makes a sharp distinction between political and historical cults and religious cults. He considers that loss of content is the natural fate of the former, through individualisation, heterogenisation and erosion on the one hand, and by becoming external and superficial leading to rapid collapse on the other. He sees the reason for this in superficiality, universality and artificial simplifications that he believes to arise from the essence of the political and historical cult, since “the connection is lost on the one hand between principle and personality, and on the other between principle and reality”.¹¹ In his view a factor contributing to this is that “religions and their cults (...) are more lasting, as their point of departure is inherently mythical and mystical, while historical tradition as it is passed down over the long term regularly acquires new contents, it is continuously ‘modernised’ – it is given a current message and becomes far removed from the event on which it is based”.¹²

⁸ The views of the Budapest modernising elite of the Orthodox (Central) Office were represented between 1891 and 1906 in Hungarian by *Zsidó Híradó – Orthodox zsidó felekezeti és társadalmi hetilap* [Jewish News – Orthodox Jewish denominational and social weekly] edited by Dániel Weisz (Viador, ?–1907), the short-lived *Hitör – Felekezeti, társadalmi és szépirodalmi hetilap, az orthodox zsidó érdekek védelmére* [Guardian of the Faith – Denominational, social and literary weekly for the defence of Orthodox Jewish interests] edited in 1914 by Ignác Reiner, secretary of the Orthodox Office, then by Lipót Groszberg (1869–1926) son of the gaon of Belényes, Reb Áser, and after his death by his son, Jenő Groszberg (1894–1982), then from October 16, 1925 the *Zsidó Újság “A magyar orthodox zsidóság hetilapja”* [Jewish Paper “Weekly paper of Hungarian Orthodox Jewry”] followed from January 20, 1939 to March 19, 1944 by *Orthodox Zsidó Újság* [Orthodox Jewish Paper].

⁹ ZEIDLER 2001: 160–161.

¹⁰ ZEIDLER 2002: 9.

¹¹ ZEIDLER 2002: 10.

¹² Ibid.

In this problematisation the connection between religion and cult appears rather as a parallel. Zeidler recognises that “the new symbols can be more easily integrated into public awareness with the help of familiar biblical stories and symbols”, and “they found among the motifs of the 1848/49 war of liberation some that could be made to correspond to the new irredentist symbols”¹³. However, “unintentional blasphemy” and the thought of degradation of the original meaning “out of context” appear in the interpretation of the phenomenon: in the words of Gillo Dorfles, Zeidler’s analysis dresses the cult in the robes of “false mythification and false rituality”¹⁴.

Rather than creating a rigid opposition between religious cults and symbolisations and historical/political cults and symbolisations, it is more expedient to build the frame of the analysis on the question of how the two phenomena are intertwined. Two key concepts of this can be *civil religion*, and the *multivocality* and unifying force of *symbols*.

Robert N. Bellah traces the concept of civil religion back to *Rousseau*, who declared that every society needs a profession of purely civil faith. For *Bellah* civil religion is the modern alternative occupying the place of religion that modern society fills with content. Civil religion is the sum of religious beliefs, symbols and rites. These are located in the transcendent dimension and are rooted in historical experience. Its function is to legitimate, integrate and share. It is based on particular events in national history declared to be significant. It (re)interprets them in the light of the current aspirations of the given time and places them in a normative frame.¹⁵

András Gerő interprets civil religion in the frame of symbolic politics. *Symbolic politics* can represent alternative history in face of the existing power constellations of “*real politics*” (interest politics, power politics, economic politics, social politics, etc.), spiritual power in face of the power interpretation of “*real politics*”.¹⁶

Civil religion appearing as a part of symbolic politics within the frame of the ideal of nation that arose in the 19th century and national traditions – the society’s purely secular civil religion – is an immanent religion in the sense that the given ethnic group makes its own history, past, present or future the subject or source of faith, thereby sacralising things of this world, creating a secular religion following religious structural patterns.¹⁷ Its function was to bridge and overwrite feudal, religious and corporate fracture lines in the modernising society. Civil religion as a phenomenon is embedded in the context of cultural memory;¹⁸ the characteristics of that memory determine its operation. Its rites are rooted in the feudal and religious feast, while the widely known concepts of the Bible and liturgy serve as its language.¹⁹

According to András Gerő, in the Horthy era the function of symbolic politics was to serve as a “disguising culture”.²⁰ It became a cult “disguising the real relations” in the sense

¹³ See ZEIDLER 2001: 177.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Cf. FURSETH – REPSTAD 2006: 103–106; HASE 2001, 53–64; SCHEIDER 1987: 83–215.

¹⁶ GERŐ 2004: 7.

¹⁷ GERŐ 2004: 32.

¹⁸ ASSMANN 1999.

¹⁹ GERŐ 2004: 18, 20–21.

²⁰ GERŐ 2004: 297.

that "independent Hungary, the Hungarian nation state came into being after the Trianon peace treaty, but this country was only a pale reflection of the one in which the civil religion was born. Consequently (...) in its every gesture it suggested a 'reality' that no longer existed. The symbolic and the so-called 'real' politics had again separated although from a different angle (...) in the interwar years the spiritual reality became officially accepted, but the Hungarian state was not as they would have liked to see it. Symbolic politics became the reality of power politics, while the reality of international power politics made this symbolic."²¹

The country's loss of territory determined both power and symbolic politics. The border was as much a part of everyday reality as it was of symbolic politics, that is, of the cults of national religion. The border cut across personal, family, existential, institutional, denominational and national ties on both sides.²² It became a reality to be dealt with and created new structures. And it became a determining part of the collective memory in the frame of a conscious educational and symbolic political programme.²³

Consequently, cults linked to the issue of borders can be regarded much rather as a manifestation of the civil religion in the given social, historical and political context.²⁴ In their symbols, rites and interpretations they build on the interpretations of earlier symbolic politics,²⁵ incorporating them or opposing them.

The meaning of the cults and symbols can change not only in its historicity. Through the *multivocality* of symbols and rites, and the ambiguity of meanings²⁶ it provides an opportunity for the different groups (and individuals) to elaborate and integrate their interpretations.²⁷ Accordingly, the various groups can adjust the given cult to their own discourses, shape it in their own image, and add particular additional meanings to it.

However, the political discourse of the period clearly separated two concepts: *revisionism* and *irredentism*. Those who wished to achieve a revision of the Trianon peace treaty by peaceful means were called revisionists, while those who were prepared to use even violent means were irredentists.²⁸

²¹ GERÖ 2004: 292.

²² For an outlook on other territories through the example of the southern stretch of the border, see SAJTI 2004: 143–148.

²³ ZEIDLER 2002: 70–72; ROMSICS 2005: 180–182; SAJTI 2004: 132.

²⁴ Zeidler attempts to interpret the social determinations of the irredentist cult mainly within social psychological frames. See: ZEIDLER 2001: 188–189.

²⁵ On the peripheralisation of the elite of the monarchy and its memory, see ROMSICS 2004.

²⁶ The dominant symbols simultaneously say and do something, they are condensed, giving common expression to many different phenomena; they unite differing phenomena, they can arouse a feeling of similarity in different people, they can express their solidarity through them, and they bring with themselves the ideological and emotional polarisation of the meanings. TURNER 1975: 55–56.

²⁷ TURNER 1975: 22.

²⁸ Miklós Ziedler also traces the history of the distinction between the concepts made by Bethlen. The ("exposing") discourses of historians after 1945 did not distinguish between the two concepts, they used condemnation and stigmatisation as a critique of the Horthy regime. The "exploratory" historiography that unfolded from the 1960s also used the two concepts in the same sense. Concerning its conceptual roots, Zeidler regards *irredentism* as a political aspiration aimed at recovering the national territories under foreign rule. "The trend can be peaceful or violent in its methods, but in its goals it is always strongly voluntarist, because it defines the population and territory 'to be recovered' arbitrarily, on the basis of unstable arguments, gener-

Two other important concepts in the main line of the political discourses of the period were the *assimilative* and the *ethnicist national concepts*. While the former characterised the period of the dualist monarchy and set the criteria for belonging to the nation as the culture that could be acquired, in the Horthy era the latter drew the borders along birth.²⁹

The Jewish denominational press also made a clear distinction between revisionism and irredentism. The Jewish press supported revisionism – in ways that depended on the stream within Jewry – but it identified the extreme irredentists with the anti-Semites. The response of the different Jewish trends to the change in the main line of the national ideal was much more nuanced.

The relative proportions of the different trends changed as a consequence of the loss of territory following the Second World War. There was a considerable decline in Orthodoxy, not only in proportion but also in influence.³⁰ From the viewpoint of its national-religious strategy that it consistently represented also during and after the world war, the *Congress Jewry* then in a dominant position, faced the greatest challenge from *Zionism*. For this reason the *Neolog* press expressed the strongest opposition, besides the anti-Semitic phenomena, to the *Zionist* trend, arguing that the “Jewish nationalism” they stood for gave ammunition to the anti-Semites of the new regime.

In support of the racial theory of his own nationality the minister read aloud lengthy passages from the Zionist work of a lawyer called Lajos Simon – a lawyer please note, not as the minister said, a rabbi. Zionism, about which nobody knew anything thirty years ago, and which even today is supported by only an insignificant proportion of Hungarian Jews, in the form in which it later crystallised adopted the position that Jews here in our country, too, must be prepared for a separate nationality existence and demands.³¹

In attacking the *Zionist* movement, *Egyenlőség*, seeking legitimization, in many cases referred to *Orthodoxy* and its press was no longer considered to be a dangerous opponent.³²

CONSCIOUSLY MODERNISING STRATEGIES AND BORDERS

After the First World War the national strategy of the Hungarian opinion-forming elite concerning the Jews changed. The former assimilative nation conception was replaced by the ethnicist strategy. The change in the nation conception can best be illustrated by Act XXV of 1920. The act, known as the *numerus clausus*, regulated access to higher education according to the proportion within the population of the given nationality or

ally turning towards the distant past and often mythical.” ZEIDLER 2002: 12. *Revisionism* wishes to achieve the renegotiation of a given international treaty, by peaceful means, through diplomacy and international law and is therefore characterised by a readiness to compromise and a legal approach. Hungarian foreign policy in the interwar years was revisionist at the official level but in its propaganda it used the phraseology of irredentism. ZEIDLER 2002: 11–12.

²⁹ Cf. KÖVÉR 2003; GYÁNI 1997; ROMSICS 2010.

³⁰ FROJMOVICS 2008: 226–227.

³¹ Ernő Mezei, The Zionist lesson, *Egyenlőség* May 8, 1920/9–10.

³² The life and death struggle of Transylvanian Orthodoxy with Zionism, *Egyenlőség* July 30, 1921/4–5, 6.

race. In contrast to the earlier Hungarian nation conception – which regarded the Jews in Hungary as part of the Hungarian nation – the legislator intended to apply the act also to the Jews. “The national assembly has decided that we are a race...”³³ was how *Egyenlőség* interpreted the new official position on the Jews when the act was passed.

The Congress Jewish elite regarded the situation that had developed by 1920 as the consequence of the war and thought that it was temporary. They hoped that once the exceptional times were past, things would return to the pre-war state.

I sincerely admit that I regard the forces now in power as an ephemeral phenomenon, one of the after-tremors of the war. It was the extraordinary events that made this situation possible in Hungary.³⁴

Placing their hope in this temporariness, the Neolog elite made no change to the institutional strategy developed in the 19th century and continued to define itself within the frame of the Hungarian nation. *Egyenlőség* repeatedly voiced the constant and unwavering loyalty of Hungarian Jews to the Hungarian nation and Hungarian state.

We have always been good and loyal citizens of the Hungarian state, honest and patriotic-minded sons of the Hungarian nation; we wish to and will remain so in the future under all circumstances. We will not allow our Hungarianness to be taken away from us. It is precious and sacred to us and our Hungarian national conscience is just as sacrosanct to us as our Jewish religious conscience.³⁵

– wrote *Egyenlőség* before the national assembly adopted the *numerus clausus*.

This is expressed in the Turul symbolism surviving in the tribute to the dead, eloquently expressed in the work of József Róna for the tombstone of Dr. Illés Adler commissioned by the Pest Israelite Congregation and reported on in the press,³⁶ as well as in the illustrated column heading showing the dismembered country, used for a short while by *Egyenlőség*.³⁷

Neolog Jewry identified with the national pain caused by the Trianon peace treaty. However, it linked the question of territorial revision to the repeal of this segregational act: “Justice for Hungary and justice for Hungarian Jews”³⁸ – wrote *Egyenlőség* in 1920. As proof of the loyalty of Hungarian Jews to the nation, *Egyenlőség* stressed the role played by the local Jews in preserving the Hungarian self-identity of the parts of the nation separated by the new borders. The paper published many articles about Jews beyond the border who had been punished by the new authorities for their support for Hungarian identity.

Our heart bleeds when we think of our martyr Jewish brothers in the occupied territories who, at the cost of endless harassment and self-sacrifice, with loyal hearts declare themselves to be Hungarian. (...) Is there any other foundation for their terrible sufferings (because they are suffering doubly: as Hungarians and as Jews), than that, together with us, they trust that the sky will clear.³⁹

³³ It is completed..., *Egyenlőség* September 25, 1920/1.

³⁴ Pál Sándor, After the *numerus clausus*, *Egyenlőség* December 4, 1920/2–3.

³⁵ What should happen to the Hungarian Jews?, *Egyenlőség* July 31, 1920/3.

³⁶ News – The tombstone of Dr. Illés Adler, *Egyenlőség* June 18, 1927/19.

³⁷ Jewish life in the country, *Egyenlőség* January 14, 1937 – January 28, 1937/8.

³⁸ Denomination and politics, *Egyenlőség* February 11, 1933/4–6.

³⁹ *Egyenlőség* October 9, 1920/1–2. Teréz Spira in Kassa prison.

However they were upset that while at the peace negotiations and on the international stage in general the Hungarian political elite regarded the Hungarian Jews of the annexed treaties as Hungarians⁴⁰ – in order to increase the proportion of the Hungarian population – in Hungary they cast the Jews out of the Hungarian national community.⁴¹

So in early 1920 in Neuilly the Jews were not Jews, but Hungarians. Just nine months ago the Jews still gave the Hungarian nation outstanding writers, scholars and artists (...) before the whole civilised world you [Pál Teleki – A.Z.] presented Hungarian Jewry as an integral part of the historical Hungarian nation (...) How is it possible – you will be asked by the diplomats whom you strove to convince with a whole battery of scholarly data of the national scientific, literary and artistic merits of the Hungarian Jews, of their Hungarianness, their non-racial character being merely a separate denomination – that these Jews have now suddenly been declared a ‘nationality’ in a law that allows the ‘Jewish nationality’ entry to the universities solely in proportion to their share of the country’s population?⁴²

Besides loyalty to the Hungary of the Horthy era, the image of dualist Hungary appeared in the press as the counter-example to the loss of territory at Trianon and the anti-Semitic phenomena. This nostalgia was manifested in a longing for the dynasty and the destroyed Monarchy. Old Hungary, the dynasty and the Hungarian Jew loyal to it figured in this context.⁴³

...we must think with the greatest gratitude of old Archduke Joseph, whose life and work brought such blessing to our country, and who with his liberal, humanitarian thinking, always supported and defended Hungarian Jewry. Esteem for the Jews was one of the finest ornaments of the great palatine’s house and this fine tradition still embellishes the soul of his successors.⁴⁴

Jews were often accused of evading military service during the world war. In order to prove the loyalty of Hungarian Jews to the nation, *Egyenlőség* regularly published pieces about Jewish war heroes from the Hungarian Jewish Military Archive,⁴⁵ as well as contemporary frontline war reports on the self-sacrificing behaviour and heroic stand of Jewish soldiers.

Hundreds of Jewish soldiers came from the front wounded and returned to the front. They came to the hospital emaciated, only to return to the front when they had regained their strength. Jewish officers came from the front only if they were injured – a few were sent to the rear, thin and ragged, by their regiment, against their will.⁴⁶

– cited by the Neolog paper from the diary of a Jewish war veteran.

⁴⁰ Cf. The English-language version of revisionary propaganda albums intended for foreign readers. LÉGRÁDY 1931: 128–131.

⁴¹ What did Pál Teleki say about us in Paris?, *Egyenlőség* October 23, 1920/1–2.

⁴² Jenő Molnár, From Trianon to the *numerus clausus*, *Egyenlőség* November 13, 1920/6–7.

⁴³ Charles IV and the Hungarian Jews. What did the age of Charles IV mean for us?, *Egyenlőség* April 8, 1922/7; The Habsburgs and the Jews. “The Habsburgs were never anti-Semites and the Jewish question is foreign to legitimism” say Colonel Wolff and Privy Councillor Wiesner, former head of the military press centre, *Egyenlőség* February 18, 1933/1–2. Two Jewish recollections of Albert Apponyi. Ibid./5.

⁴⁴ Dr. Sándor Léderer, Palatine Joseph and his family, *Egyenlőség* September 11, 1920/7–9.

⁴⁵ Hungarian Jewish soldiers in the world war, *Egyenlőség* May 8, 1920/5–6 – May 22, 1920/8–9 – May 29, 1920/6–7, etc.

⁴⁶ Dr. Manó Szántó, From the diary of a Jewish regimental doctor, *Egyenlőség* April 24, 1920/10.

Throughout the period the Neolog press held up Italian fascism as a counter-example to the anti-Semitic public discourse of the Christian regime. *Egyenlőség* presented Italian fascism as a national, right-wing movement that also integrated the Jews and ensured a valued place for them.⁴⁷ It was in this context that in 1927 *Egyenlőség* wrote about Emerico Fried (Imre Fried), an Italian Jew originally from Hungary, who was again working in Hungary, an “importer of citrus fruits” and secretary of the Budapest Italian Fascio. In an interview with him the paper tried to show the difference between the situation of the Hungarian and Italian Jews.

The Italian fascio is not at all against the Jews. Fascism in Italy is specifically Italian, a national formation and it does not contain a single point that would oppress the Jews in any way. (...) the Italian fascio is without regard for religion. In Italy today many persons of Jewish religion can be found in official circles, in Italy there are Jewish ministers and generals and in general they occupy a very high position in the fascist state.⁴⁸

– wrote *Egyenlőség* in 1928.

In the period of the “Christian-national regime”, the Jews of Hungary were suspected of having been on the side of the commune during the Republic of Councils, and communism was equated with the Jews. As a defence against this, *Egyenlőség* strove to present the Jewish victims of the Republic of Councils,⁴⁹ and to dissociate itself from the ideology of communism. To demonstrate their loyalty to the new regime, *Egyenlőség* regularly wrote about Jews who had stood on the counterrevolutionary side in face of the commune. In December 1920 *Egyenlőség* carried an article on Dr. Sándor Fürst court councillor – who had earlier been awarded the Order of Francis Joseph “for his commitment and loyalty” – praising his counterrevolutionary activity and presenting him as a victim of communism.

During the commune, on the 2nd of May, he was condemned to death as a counterrevolutionary, he was able to avoid death by fleeing. In the confusion that followed the downfall of communism, he was persecuted because he identified himself with Jewish interests and declared that he was fighting to win recognition and esteem for the Jews. He suffered a great deal of unpleasantness because of this, so that the

⁴⁷ A few examples: The fascist government appoints a Jew as chairman of the supreme court, *Egyenlőség* March 20, 1926/3; Dr. Ernő Munkácsi, The rabbis of Rome, *Egyenlőség* February 2, 1935/5; Dr. Simon Hevesi, chief rabbi, My visit to Rome. My audience with the Pope and Mussolini, *Egyenlőség* January 19, 1935/1–2; The Italian army is bringing peace between the denominations and races in conquered Abyssinia, *Egyenlőség* May 7, 1936/1–2; Mussolini and freedom of religion, *Egyenlőség* May 29, 1936/8; The King of Italy appoints a former Hungarian Jewish student a Knight of the Order of the Crown, *Egyenlőség* June 4, 1936/4; Italian propaganda poster for the persecuted Jews, *Egyenlőség* July 16, 1936/9; Ernő Munkácsi, Leader of modern Italian Jewry, General Angelo di Nola in Budapest, *Egyenlőség* September 3, 1936/5; Thank you, Duce!, *Egyenlőség* September 3, 1936/11; Mussolini looks at me: greets me and waves with affection..., *Egyenlőség* November 5, 1936/3–4; Denial by Italian government: There can be no anti-Semitism and racial hatred in Italy!, *Egyenlőség* November 26, 1936/1–2; The fascist hero who rests in two cemeteries, *Egyenlőség* February 18, 1937/2; Italy does not forget the merits of the Jews, *Egyenlőség* April 15, 1937/4; Homage to Victor Emmanuel III, *Egyenlőség* May 20, 1937/1–2.

⁴⁸ Secretary of the Italian fascio in Budapest, Imre Fried, our Jewish brother, *Egyenlőség* April 10, 1926/3.

⁴⁹ More facts from the time of the commune, *Egyenlőség* June 12, 1920/2.

military commander took up his defence, declaring that as a counterrevolutionary he served the interests of the Jews in a way that earned him general respect and appreciation from the people of the city irrespective of religious difference, and that he would do honour to the society of any city.⁵⁰

The Zionist movement, that had earlier been a peripheral community within Jewish society, considerably increased its influence after the world war. This was due in part to the movement's undoubted successes in Palestine and in part to the anti-Semitic phenomena in Hungary after the war. In connection with Hungary's situation following the First World War, in place of the identification expressed by the Neolog press, the Zionist press emphasised understanding, and stressed the similarity between the Jewish fate and the Hungarian fate. Zionist chronology counts the end of the Jewish national fate and the beginning of exile from the destruction of the second Temple (70 BC). In this way – noted *Zsidó Szemle* – the Jews have been revisionists for two thousand years. There is therefore hope for the Hungarians, too.

The unity of the nation, of the country will remain alive in the heart of every single Hungarian citizen and in the end the Hungary that lives in millions of Hungarian hearts will rise again. Jewish history and the two thousand years of Jewish exile have convinced us very firmly of the truth of this. When we, hard-working, sincere and honest citizens of this country, proclaim with the firmest belief and conviction that the Hungarian nation has no cause for mourning and doubt or for resignation, we draw this conviction from the history of the Hungarian and the Jewish people. The just cause of the Jewish people and their right to the ancient Jewish land has not lost its validity even after 2000 years.⁵¹

...the Hungarian nation is not dying, it will live! With the hope-inspiring lines of the Zionist hymn, we say: 'Od lo ovda tikvatenu': We will not lose hope!⁵²

– wrote *Zsidó Szemle* even before the signing of the Trianon peace dictate.

When the *numerus clausus* act was passed *Zsidó Szemle* saw this as confirmation of its own position, although with bitterness. And with the change in the Hungarian national strategy, they pointed to the failure of the “assimilating” Jew, that is, to the strategy of Neology, and blamed the Congress elite for rigidly and even hostilely rejecting even the existence of the Jewish nationality. However, according to the Zionists the spread of the Jewish national idea had to arise not from an external act, not from constraint.

However, this does not change the essence of the matter because the concept of either race or nationality represents a break with the denominational platform and now under the law, too, there are no Hungarians of Israelite religion. The fact that Jewish nationality could be applied to us as slander is due exclusively to those strata of assimilating Jewry and especially to the official leaders of Hungarian Jewry who showed stubborn resistance to and a fear of the Jewish national idea even when it had already won the support of practically all the Jews of the world. (...) the Jewish national idea must win over the Jews of Hungary in the same way that it has won the Jews of the world: through Jewish hearts.⁵³

An important point at issue between the Zionist and the Neolog strategy was the question of the Jewish communities beyond the borders. In these territories the Zionists set

⁵⁰ Jewish counterrevolutionary, *Egyenlőség* December 4, 1920/14.

⁵¹ *Zsidó Szemle* May 14, 1920/1. Dr. József Schönfeld: The nation will live

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Dr. s.l., So, Jewish nationality, *Zsidó Szemle* October 8, 1920/3–4.

up Jewish national organisations. Already in 1918 the Zionists argued that the Jews will integrate into the majority society of the later annexed territories inhabited by different nationalities. This situation that would be unfavourable from the Hungarian viewpoint could be prevented if the Jews were to create their own nationality organisations and so would not swell the numbers of the nationalities opposed to the Hungarians.

In the territories inhabited by nationalities we can openly state that most of the Jews, especially the more intelligent stratum that does not observe the religious forms, fully assimilate to their environment within a few years and so are lost for the Hungarian nation. Considering the historical past, the government should recognise this and neutralise the Jews because it is only in this way that they will be able to remain comrades-in-arms of the Hungarian people throughout the territory of the state. This neutralisation can only be achieved if the government orders the national organisation of Hungarian Jews and thus, in the spirit of the new order, invests them with the rights of national minorities in the areas of education, public administration and political representation.⁵⁴

– argued the Zionist paper in favour of nationality policy.

Later, after the change of rule, this aspiration found support in the governments of the successor states. The aim of the leadership of the successor states was to reduce the numerical proportion of Hungarians in the annexed territories by separating the Jewish masses classified among the Hungarians. However, the Neolog elite feared that the national aspirations of the Zionists would further detract from the judgement of the Jews within Hungarian public opinion unable to differentiate between the strategies of the different Jewish groups.

STRATEGIES ASPIRING FOR TRADITIONALITY AND BORDERS

Orthodoxy's framework of interpretation totally differed from that of Neology and the Zionist movement. The *Allgemeine Jüdische Zeitung* / *Zsidó Ujság* dealt with national Orthodox Jewish questions, but mainly reflected the attitude of the Orthodox middle class in Budapest. The impact of the borders already appeared directly at the time the paper was relaunched. Its *jüdisch-deutsch* readers were now in the successor states so the paper soon switched to Hungarian.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Executive Committee of the Zionist Organisation in Hungary: To the Hungarian National Council, *Zsidó Szemle* November 8, 1918/6–7.

⁵⁵ The Orthodox Central Office regarded the *Zsidó Híradó* that had earlier appeared in Hungarian as a publication addressed to the outside world and defending Orthodox interests. Why is an Orthodox Jewish weekly needed?, *Zsidó Ujság* August 6, 1926/8–9. The *Allgemeine Jüdische Zeitung* "Finding the publication of a German-language paper in Hebrew script not feasible economically because of the annexed territories, launched the *Zsidó Ujság* in 1925," – wrote Jenő Groszberg, the paper's new editor, recalling his late father. Jenő Groszberg, My father's life, *Zsidó Ujság* November 12, 1926/2. The grandson Slomo Groszberg (Budapest – Bné Brák) saw this in the same way at the turn of the century: "My late grandfather (...) in 1919, after Hungary had been dismembered, and the Jews of the north-east and Transylvania who spoke Yiddish as their everyday language remained in the annexed territories, did not work as a journalist for several years as there was no justification for the *Jüdische Zeitung* in what was left of the country. (...) But there was a need for an Orthodox paper in Hungary after Trianon too, so in 1925 he decided to publish a Hungarian-language weekly."

The representation of the borders and Hungarian symbolic politics can only be understood through the Orthodox view of time. It did not wish to adapt the traditions to the modern phenomena. It fitted the modern phenomena into the chain of tradition. Even then, it selected only those that were compatible with the religious tradition.⁵⁶ Regarding German *neo-Orthodoxy* as one possible trend of urban Orthodoxy, and adapting its views to Lipót Groszberg, the deceased editor, his son expressed this as follows:

When my late father spoke about the aims of the ZSIDÓ UJSÁG he always had before his eyes those *Midrashic principles*: a new type of Orthodoxy must be created out of the old Orthodoxy, one that brings together “heavenly and earthly” things on the basis of religious law, generations that are guided by steadfast faith, by the Shema, who trust that Zion will rise in glory out of the mercy of the Omnipotent.⁵⁷

The press proclaimed political neutrality⁵⁸ and a revival of religious life⁵⁹ as its programme.

Since we Jews lost our state life we are not able to pursue our own national policy, for us in the Diaspora there can be only one policy, the cultural policy of our sacred teachings and traditions that surround them like a protective dyke.⁶⁰

The writers of articles on religious devotion looked on Hungary as a society in moral decline. The Orthodox religious community had to be kept free from this moral decay by deepening religiosity. The decline in moral values

occurred everywhere with the end of the war; with proper guidance and respect for the future this should be curbed everywhere if we wish to assert again the social values, customs and attitudes that have stood the test of time.⁶¹

– wrote the paper.

They regarded the exclusion of the Jews from Hungarian society, the undermining of their livelihood – following Talmudic interpretations – as divine punishment for the

BACSKAI 2004: 15–16.

⁵⁶ How this was done within the Orthodox institutional system differed widely by stream on both sides of the border. On the subject of leisure and the cult of the body, the attitude to tradition, and religious socialisation, see GLESZER 2008; GLESZER – ZIMA 2009b.

⁵⁷ Jenő Groszberg, In the footsteps of the departed. The great loss and the aims of *Zsidó Ujság*, *Zsidó Ujság* November 12, 1926/1.

⁵⁸ News – Machzike-Hadas in Budapest, *Zsidó Ujság* October 23, 1925/10; After the Machzike Hadas general assembly, *Zsidó Ujság* January 8, 1926/7; Henrik Löffler, general secretary of the Budapest Orthodox congregation, Non-political congregations, *Zsidó Ujság* July 30, 1926/1; Non-political congregations, *Zsidó Ujság* August 6, 1926/3; Dr. Albert Székely chief prosecutor of Zemplén County, Sátoraljaújhely, Non-political congregations and self-respecting Jews, *Zsidó Ujság* November 19, 1926/1; Dina D'Malchuta Dina, *Orthodox Zsidó Ujság* September 1, 1940/5; We don't engage in politics!..., *Orthodox Zsidó Ujság* November 22, 1940/3.

⁵⁹ In the spirit of Orthodox renaissance – Revival of the Budapest Machzike Hadas, *Zsidó Ujság* December 18, 1925/1; Orthodoxy in Hungary – Declaration by Ábrahám Freudiger of Óbuda, *Zsidó Ujság* January 7, 1927/6.

⁶⁰ Greetings, Subcarpathia!, *Orthodox Zsidó Ujság* March 20, 1939/1.

⁶¹ To our youth – Three weeks of reflection, *Zsidó Ujság* July 9, 1926/8–9.

secularisation of the Neologists and Zionists.⁶² The question of the borders appeared in this context.

The secular world of modernity and the emerging mass society appeared as the “flood current of the outside world”. The *Orthodox* programme based on this was in harmony with the frames set by both the religious and education policy of the period.⁶³

The ruthless money-grubbing, the destructive desire for pleasure, the attitude to life based on denial, doubt and frivolity, and materialism are steadily besieging the ancient walls of Jewry. We need to strengthen the dykes.⁶⁴

– proclaimed the programme of piety.

This piety urged the construction of protective barriers against the modern secular tendencies of the outside world. At the same time these were also borders, boundaries providing protection for Orthodoxy as it turned inward.⁶⁵

A very substantial sum has been earmarked in the Hungarian state budget to provide scholars, candidate scholars and the talented with grants. (...) We do not wish to point out that Jews are not represented among the many hundreds of names even in proportion to the *numerus clausus*. (...) We cannot compete with the vast means available to the state and so we can prepare our children for struggle only *internally*, in their spirits (...) We must draw on the resource of the Jewish religion to steel our children. And every Neolog Jew, too, must acknowledge what every Orthodox Jew knows: that loyalty to the Torah and the traditions can best help people through the difficulties of life ...⁶⁶

– wrote the article reflecting thinking in terms of Jewry as a whole.

At the same time these borders represented an opening towards the use of new and modern phenomena. Besides the modern trends, the involvement of new means was justified by the change in the national borders and in the borders between social groups. In this spirit a leading article in the press wrote as follows, referring to the story of Dinah, the daughter of Jacob:

war means a great shift, especially in the souls of the young. (...) “While her family members sat in the beth hamedrash,⁶⁷ she [Dinah – G.N.] mingled with the outside world.” – This remark also applied to a large stratum of Orthodoxy that can no longer be governed from the beth hamedrash.⁶⁸

The change in the country’s borders broke up the Orthodox institutional system created during the period of the dual monarchy. The large Orthodox and Chasidic communities as

⁶² Word of warning from “Machzike Hadas”, *Zsidó Ujság* August 9, 1932/8. Cf. The speeches of Slomo Zalman Ehrenreich (1863–1944) Chief Rabbi of Szilágysomlyó. FROJIMOVICS 2008: 320–332.

⁶³ The Regent speaks of religious life, *Zsidó Ujság* May 11, 1928/3; *Zsidó Ujság* October 26, 1928/1. In the week of student protests. Cf. ROMSICS 2005: 180–181.

⁶⁴ Flood danger and dyke building – Reflections on the revival of the Budapest “Machzike Hadas”, *Zsidó Ujság* January 1, 1926/1.

⁶⁵ Márkus Klein, officer for educational affairs of the Budapest Orthodox community and president of Saszchevra, Let us not destroy the dykes raised by our great forefathers!, *Zsidó Ujság* October 19, 1928/–3.

⁶⁶ In a shower of grants, *Zsidó Ujság* July 12, 1929/1.

⁶⁷ In the study house.

⁶⁸ Flood danger and dyke building – Reflections on the revival of the Budapest “Machzike Hadas”, *Zsidó Ujság* January 1, 1926/1.

well as the important Talmudic schools went to the successor states.⁶⁹ The change in the mainline Hungarian national ideal represented a shift in the borderlines within society. The paper very soon made its readers aware of this in its coverage of the *numerus clausus*, the question of the Jews from the successor states stranded in Hungary, and in its evaluation of the police raids in search of foreign nationals.⁷⁰

The response was to withdraw into the Orthodox communities and to deepen religious life.

The whole life programme of Orthodoxy is expressed in the old saying: “Baj bachadorechó, chavi chim’at regá... – withdraw to your rooms, wait till the storm passes.”⁷¹ This is why in the present time we have a great need of an association (...) that sets the goal of intensive internal Orthodox life and respect of the religious laws in an area where they may be neglected.⁷²

– they wrote on the subject of Machzike Hadas.

At the same time, in harmony with the response of religious strategy to anti-Semitism, we find apologetics here, too: holding up positive counter-examples from the past⁷³, the cult of the heroic dead of the First World War,⁷⁴ anti-communism, anti-atheism and anti-

⁶⁹ Mór Schik (Wien), Hungarian and Orthodox Trianon – To the special attention of those concerned, *Zsidó Ujság* August 5, 1927/5.

⁷⁰ Awakenings and Chasidim, *Zsidó Ujság* July 16, 1926/5–6; Razzia and the spirit of love, *Zsidó Ujság* August 19, 1927/1–2; Dr. Frigyes Grossmann, What kind of citizens are we?, *Zsidó Ujság* September 9, 1927/4–5; Mór Schik, (Wien), *Numerus Clausus* and Orthodoxy, *Zsidó Ujság* July 22, 1927/5; News – On the “*Numerus clausus* and Orthodoxy”..., *Zsidó Ujság* August 5, 1927/11; *Numerus clausus*, Zionism, status quo organisation – Declaration by the deputy president of the Orthodox Central Office, *Zsidó Ujság* November 25, 1927/1; First a Jew, then Hungarian, *Zsidó Ujság* December 9, 1927/9; News – The razzia for foreigners, *Zsidó Ujság* October 28, 1927/10–11; News – Swabians and Jews, *Zsidó Ujság* April 4, 1928/15; Dr. Imre Reiner, legal counsel to the Orthodox Central Office, Dawn razzia in Budapest, *Zsidó Ujság* November 12, 1937/1–2; Equal treatment, even in the razzia!, *Zsidó Ujság* November 12, 1937/4; “I will not be a party to anti-Jewish action”, said József Széll interior minister in the House of Representatives after a question from Béla Kornitzer concerning the razzia, to a reporter from “*Zsidó Ujság*”, *Zsidó Ujság* November 19, 1937/3; Who is a Hungarian citizen? Answers. From: Dr. Imre Reiner, legal counsel to the Orthodox Central Office, *Zsidó Ujság* December 3, 1937/4; Where are the “Galicianers”? *Zsidó Ujság* December 3, 1937/9; Apply for your residence certificates By: Dr. Imre Reiner, legal counsel to the Orthodox Central Office, *Zsidó Ujság* December 17, 1937/1.

⁷¹ The Talmud citation is from *bSanhedrin* 105b.

⁷² On the subject of the “Machzike Hadas”, *Zsidó Ujság* March 19, 1934/3.

⁷³ News – Event commemorating Francis Joseph, *Zsidó Ujság* December 10, 1926/10; Jewish legends I. About Francis Joseph, *Zsidó Ujság* August 29, 1930/4–5; Csermely Gyula, Szukajsz (Sukkot) in Levélnek..., *Orthodox Zsidó Ujság* October 17, 1941/6; Francis Joseph I and Orthodoxy, *Orthodox Zsidó Ujság* November 20, 1941/5; Dezső Korein, Recollection of the great ruler, *Orthodox Zsidó Ujság* December 20, 1941/6; Sándor Gabel: Francis Joseph in Nagyvárád, *Orthodox Zsidó Ujság* January 10, 1942/3; From the good old world... – Hebrew poem in the library of Francis Joseph I., *Orthodox Zsidó Ujság* January 20, 1942/4. This was also linked to the main cults of civil religion: Jewish soldiers received ritual food in 1848, *Orthodox Zsidó Ujság* May 20, 1939/11; Lajos Kossuth against anti-Semitism, *Orthodox Zsidó Ujság* March 10, 1940/1; Historical reminiscences, *Orthodox Zsidó Ujság* November 1, 1941/5; News – A Rákóczi episode, *Orthodox Zsidó Ujság* November 1, 1941/6.

⁷⁴ A few examples: News – In memory of heroes, *Zsidó Ujság* December 9, 1927/11; Gyula Rosenbaum (Kisvárdai), For Heroes’ Day, *Zsidó Ujság* May 18, 1928/8.

religious liberalism placed on religious grounds,⁷⁵ and emphasis of the Hungarian loyalty of Orthodox Jews in the successor states.⁷⁶

The borders were opened at the time of major Chasidic pilgrimages,⁷⁷ and the press devoted special columns to the life of Orthodox communities beyond the border.⁷⁸ The Orthodox attitude towards the borders is well reflected in a press news item on a pilgrimage in 1927 to Sátoraljaújhely: "Several thousand people, both from Hungary and the occupied territory, made the pilgrimage to Ujhely for the anniversary."⁷⁹ "The Trianon borders were not able to put an end to the old love and piety. Thousands upon thousands came, just as in the time of the old Greater Hungary."⁸⁰

Symbolic politics and the Trianon discourse were subordinated to the religious frame of piety. The most striking departure from that was made by Chief Rabbi József Dohány of Kiskunhalas, who bore the title of Dr, unusual for an Orthodox rabbi; he incorporated elements of the irredentist cult in his speech made at the unveiling of the monument to First World War heroes, attended by Miklós Horthy and Archduke Joseph. The chief rabbi – applying the Jewish view of time to the events of the T'nach⁸¹ – drew a parallel between the image of the Everlasting who does not turn away from his people and the world created around the Temple, with the world war hero cult of civil religion and its symbolism associated with Trianon.⁸²

⁷⁵ Struggle against destruction of religion, *Zsidó Ujság* February 19, 1926/5–6; News – Sacrifice of the Soviet Jew, *Zsidó Ujság* June 24, 1927/11; What did the peasant leader learn in the Soviet Union?, *Zsidó Ujság* July 1, 1927/6; News – Communists and anti-Semites, *Zsidó Ujság* September 9, 1927/12; Strange cases from Soviet Russia, *Zsidó Ujság* April 4, 1928/17; Prince Primate and the cantor, *Zsidó Ujság* June 1, 1928/5; News – Kaddish sale in the Soviet Union, *Zsidó Ujság* January 11, 1929/12; From the recent history of the Jews, *Zsidó Ujság* February 1, 1929/4–5; From the Russian hell, *Zsidó Ujság* January 31, 1930/4–5; The Russian golus, *Zsidó Ujság* February 28, 1930/4; The Russian calamity – Mass torah burnings?, *Zsidó Ujság* March 7, 1930/2; On interdenominational peace, *Zsidó Ujság* June 27, 1930/1; News – Communists against the "brit milah", *Zsidó Ujság* March 20, 1931/11; News – The Jewish heart is true to itself, *Zsidó Ujság* April 1, 1931/15.

⁷⁶ Jews beaten on the streets of Kolozsvár, *Zsidó Ujság* June 5, 1927/4–5; The Slovensko Jewish loyalist, *Zsidó Ujság* September 16, 1927/1; News – Army "deserters" who died a hero's death, *Zsidó Ujság* October 12, 1928/11; News – Help for the children of a homeless Jew, *Zsidó Ujság* September 28, 1928/11; In prison because of Trianon, *Zsidó Ujság* November 16, 1928/9; The martyr's funeral, *Zsidó Ujság* April 17, 1931/8–9; News – A young grand rabbi in Budapest, *Zsidó Ujság* August 25, 1933/11.

⁷⁷ Bodrogkeresztúr: News – Jahrzeit in Bodrogkeresztur, *Zsidó Ujság* April 16, 1926/8; *Liszka*: Gen-darmes at the *Jahrzeit*, *Zsidó Ujság* August 20, 1926/6; *Újhely*: News – Ujhely *Jahrzeit* and the Czech border, *Zsidó Ujság* July 22, 1927/10; News – The Ujhely *Jahrzeit*, *Zsidó Ujság* June 13, 1928/10; News – Reb Jajlis שליט"א and the Ujhely *Jahrzeit*, *Zsidó Ujság* August 2, 1929/11; *Szatmárnémeti*: Teitelbaum chief rabbi of Nagykároly officially occupied the seat of Szatmár rabbi on February 27, *Zsidó Ujság* March 1, 1934/3.

⁷⁸ In the period examined the press reported in separate columns on the Jews of "Slovensko", "Transylvania" and "Yugoslavia", accompanied on the occasion of important community events by a compilation of news on a particular settlement.

⁷⁹ News – *Jahrzeit*-s, *Zsidó Ujság* August 12, 1927/9.

⁸⁰ Awakenings and Chasidim – From our own reporter – Ha-Lévy, *Zsidó Ujság* July 16, 1926/5–6.

⁸¹ RÉKAI 2000: 71.

⁸² In the interpretation of Elemér Hankiss the Hungarian civil religion draws on biblical motifs rather than on coherent stories. He considers that such motifs include the chosen people, God punishing his beloved people, bastion of Christianity / the West, and the cult of patron saint. Hankiss laid the foundations of an analysis of elements of civil religion on monuments related to Trianon a decade and a half before Miklós Zeidler. HANKISS 1991: 70–89.

"I saw you kicking about in your blood, and I said to you with Ezekiel: Live through your blood! Your blood will make you live."⁸³ (...) child, cling even more firmly to the body of your motherland that lies weak from loss of blood.⁸⁴ And then the deepest wound on the body of the nation: our decapitated head, the peak of the Carpathians, our severed hands: the mountains of Transylvania, the gentle slopes of Western Hungary, our sawn-off limb: Bácska, our shrivelled eye: the Adriatic, are nothing more than the wriggling of a worm that will be quickly healed by the budding of burning blood. (...) Become an army of voices proclaiming that blood, language, our different greatness is eternal; because the Lord, the Master is eternal, and so is his creation. That the sword of Justice will smite the Injustice trampling on us, that filled with the fear of God and love of the country, may the name of the Lord be engraved in all of us and may this homeland become a temple (...) Then it will not be the gravestone [the monument commemorating war dead – N.G.] of a world cast into a tomb, but the foundation stone of a more flourishing Hungary.⁸⁵

The speaker used the symbolism of the irredentist cult portraying the dismembering of the country and an allegorical personification of the annexed territories.⁸⁶ The war monument became an allegory of society, that – in the chief rabbi's interpretation – is a force welding together in unity citizens of different ethnicity, religion and social status.

May the Lord bless you, preserve you from the indifference of your observers, may the Lord shine His face towards you, be merciful to you, that you may find hearts afire, and take the glowing peace grain of love into your ambition so that, just as at this celebration, head of state, army and citizens merge into one, attach themselves to you and rise up into a giant mountain, and may the Turul fly to your peak and cry out to the borders: My children, come under my wings, I will shelter you because I am strong and great!⁸⁷

This blessing given by the chief rabbi updated the symbolism of the joint Hungarian-Jewish conquest of Hungary and coexistence elaborated in the 19th century for Neolog Jewry by Sámuel Kohn⁸⁸ and linked it to the Turul symbolism of the irredentist cult rooted in dualism. A similar blessing – although one closer to Orthodox traditions – can be read on the front page of the press on the occasion of the Regent's anniversary in 1940 legitimizing the regime.

⁸³ Ezek. 16:6.

⁸⁴ The chief rabbi used the symbolism of blood and sacrifice in the exodus from Egypt. The first mention of blood refers to the newborn infant, while the second two mentions are to the redemption/salvation from Egypt. The first of the latter refers to the brit mila, circumcision – only a man who has been circumcised could eat of the Pesach offering *Exod.* 12:41–51. –, the second mention refers to the blood of the Pesach sacrifice. According to the Midrash the Everlasting redeemed his people from Egypt with the two Mitzvah related to blood. He gave these two commands so that the redemption should not be free, a gift. See *Mekhila* parashat Bo. The chief rabbi links this to the blood sacrifice made by the war heroes, represented by the monument. The cult of irredentism was characterised by a similar, but Christian salvation symbolism. At the same time, according to Bellah the exodus from Egypt also became an integral part of the American civil religion. Cited in HANKISS 1991: 66–68. In this case it became a part of the basic story through a parallel drawn with the origin of the American nation. HANKISS 1991: 69.

⁸⁵ Dr. József Dohány chief rabbi, Commemorative speech. Made at the unveiling of the monument raised to the heroes by the town of Halas in the main square of Halas, in the presence of His Excellency Regent Miklós Horthy and Archduke Joseph, *Zsidó Ujság* June 25, 1926/2–3.

⁸⁶ Parallels can be seen in the group of irredentist sculptures in Szabadság tér (1921), and later the national flag (1928). ZEIDLER 2009: 199–207.

⁸⁷ Dr. József Dohány chief rabbi, Commemorative speech. Made at the unveiling of the monument raised to the heroes by the town of Halas in the main square of Halas, in the presence of His Excellency Regent Miklós Horthy and Archduke Joseph, *Zsidó Ujság* June 25, 1926/3.

⁸⁸ ZIMA 2008: 244–248.

Our Heavenly Father! Lord of the World, who in Your infinite wisdom direct the fate of nations and princes with love: shelter and protect our Most Excellent Regent! Shine the rich grace of Your blessing on him! (...) and allow him to live to see the light of the old, happy Greater Hungary shine again in all its glory.⁸⁹

At its meeting of June 1929 at the initiative of its acting vice-president, Lajos Harstein, the national Orthodox representation declared the intention of Orthodox Jewry in Hungary to join the Revision League. The press also published the text of the resolution interpreted as a sign of patriotism:

The national representation of the autonomous Orthodox Israelist denomination in Hungary, as the legal representative of Hungarian Orthodox Jewry: at its meeting on June 26, 1929 gladly seized the opportunity to declare officially its unshakeable faith in the soonest possible victory for the Hungarian idea of revision. The truth that has been suppressed for some time now visibly shines in all its brilliance on the mind, and is now gradually winning back the sympathy and goodwill of foreign hearts for the fate of our pitifully dismembered country. Through the special mercy of the Omnipotent, it has now been given to us to see that truth is on the way. Every Orthodox Hungarian Jew regards it as the most sacred duty and happiest task to contribute effectively to the attainment of this victory. The National Representation instructs the Board of the Orthodox Israelite Central Office to join the Hungarian Revision League and at the same time to bring this solemn manifestation to the attention of the respected leadership of the League.⁹⁰

However, they wrote about extremist irredentism as a phenomenon identical to anti-Semitism.⁹¹ They contrasted it with examples of religiosity victorious over the Trianon borders.⁹² Revision was supported by symbolic politics – even before the resolution of 1929. According to reports in the press, for example in 1927 in a speech inaugurating the new headquarters and banner of tradesmen in Mezőkeresztes, Chief Rabbi József Cseh, interpreting the united tradesmen as condemnation of “the denominational and racial conflicts”, concluded his inaugurating speech “with an expression of the hope that the fate of our country will take a turn for the better and the unity of Hungary will be restored.”⁹³ And in a speech made in 1927 at the inauguration of Ármin Lieberman, the new chief rabbi of Ricse, the village where the “American film king” Adolf Zukor was born, Dr. Dezső Osváth chief administrative officer of the Bodrogek public administration expressed his pleasure that

“... in his inaugural speech the chief rabbi has set the religious education of youth as his main task, because religious morality includes love of the homeland, something that our dismembered and long-suffering country has even greater need of today.” He asked the chief rabbi to instil in the youth a burning patriotism, because the task of winning back Greater Hungary awaits the youth.⁹⁴

At the institutional level a parallel was drawn between the Hungarian Trianon and an Orthodox Trianon.⁹⁵ This was stressed in the Orthodox press by Herman Blaszczyk discussing the post-Trianon problems of Orthodox youth. Trianon

⁸⁹ For the 20th anniversary of the glorious reign of Miklós Horthy, *Orthodox Zsidó Ujság* March 1, 1940/1.

⁹⁰ Meeting of the national representation. Joining the Revision League, *Zsidó Ujság* June 28, 1929/4.

⁹¹ Trianon and Budaörs, *Zsidó Ujság* June 11, 1926/1.

⁹² News – Two cases of irredentism, *Zsidó Ujság* August 26, 1927/12; The word of the minister’s microphone, *Zsidó Ujság* November 2, 1928/1.

⁹³ Ernő Bokor, Blessing of a banner and denominational peace, *Zsidó Ujság* May 27, 1927/4.

⁹⁴ Mashmia yeshua, Election of a rabbi in the community of the film king, *Zsidó Ujság* April 8, 1927/5.

⁹⁵ Mór Schik (Wien), Hungarian and Orthodox Trianon – To the special attention of our competent circles, *Zsidó Ujság* August 5, 1927/5.

faced the Jews of Hungary with a new problem and above all with the yeshiva question. As a consequence of the Trianon border we have lost our biggest yeshivas, foundations and refuges of Jewry, and those that remain are now in a critical situation as a consequence of the harsh times.⁹⁶

Orthodoxy in Hungary found itself in a minority within Jewry.⁹⁷ The Orthodox press used the symbol of the borders and Trianon to interpret the changed proportions within Jewry and the efforts of Neology for unification.

Hungarian Orthodoxy also has a *domestic political Trianon* (...) *that makes it imperative to redraw the borderline (...) that must divide us, Orthodox Jews, in the interest of observing our religious traditions and laws, from that part of Jewry that limits itself to empty phrases.*⁹⁸

With the loss of the historical Hungarian territories Orthodoxy also lost important religious communities.⁹⁹ They linked the settlement of the two losses, and linked both to the moral improvement of Hungary and the deepening of its religiosity. Orthodoxy gave its moral support to all church or state initiatives that were aimed at conservative morality and religiosity and were not directed against the Jews.

Let us link the hope and demand for Jewish equality before the law with the triumph of state morality. And in this respect we can expect much more from Prince Primate Dr. Jusztinián Serédi, than from Lucien Wolf. It was just on Wednesday that His Eminence declared in the Upper House: **Hungary can only be rebuilt on a moral foundation and with the help of morality.**¹⁰⁰

Among the revisionary aspirations reinterpreted within religious frames, the initiative of Lord Rothermere met with a considerable response in the Orthodox press. The English publishing mogul was presented in the Orthodox press – reinterpreting the Czechoslovak propaganda campaign against revision – as a man of Jewish origin fighting for the Hungarian cause and opposing the anti-Jewish extreme irredentist views.¹⁰¹ In the public mood of anticipation in the interwar years overestimation of Lord Rothermere's international role¹⁰² also characterised the Orthodox press for a few months.

This voice is new for us after the sad times following the war when we have heard only the voice of the victors. Even if we had the hope and faith that the narrow borders will one day expand, since we have been hearing the revival of our own hopes from such a direction and place, we hear the hopes inside us

⁹⁶ Herman Blasz, Tomchei Yeshivos, *Zsidó Ujság* October 16, 1925/5.

⁹⁷ Before the First World War, according to the 1910 census 51.9% of the country's Jewish population adhered to Orthodoxy. Following the peace treaty of 1920 this figure fell to 30.9%. In contrast to the earlier, largely rural, village Orthodoxy, despite the fact that more than half of the earlier network of religious communities still remained, the proportion of urban Neology increased, forming a decisive majority. FROMOVICS 2008: 226–227.

⁹⁸ Mór Schik (Wien), Hungarian and Orthodox Trianon – To the special attention of our competent circles, *Zsidó Ujság* August 5, 1927/5.

⁹⁹ The loss of territory also affected ritual diet; with the loss of the salt mines, the question of whether imported salt was kosher appeared in the columns of the press. Salt sold in cardboard boxes is the most unacceptable from the ritual viewpoint, *Zsidó Ujság* January 28, 1927/7.

¹⁰⁰ Morality and foreign intervention, *Zsidó Ujság* March 28, 1928/1.

¹⁰¹ News – Lord Rothermere, *Zsidó Ujság* July 8, 1927/11.

¹⁰² ZEIDLER 2009: 112–126.

coming to life and feel a strengthening awareness that the nation's body will once again come together with its amputated limbs and be united in the sacred emotion that we call patriotism. Hungarian Jews, who have become united in sorrow and trouble with the Hungarian people, turn their troubled heads towards its rays and stretch their frozen limbs in its warmth. Because it is the great desire of Hungarian Jews too, to unite with the Jews of the annexed territories.¹⁰³

A telegram of greetings from the Orthodox community of Balassagyarmat was one of the many missives and telegrams that arrived as part of the Rothermere cult.¹⁰⁴ But the aid donated by Lord Rothermere raised the question of the loyalty of the Slovensko Jews.¹⁰⁵ The press response to the same aid action – coming up against the anti-Semitism of the regime – also reevaluated the role and real influence of Lord Rothermere.¹⁰⁶

The cult of Saint Stephen and the August 20 celebrations, as well as the representation and teaching of the Carpathian Basin as a historical and economic unit both embodied the notion of revisionism based on integrity.¹⁰⁷ The Orthodox press was linked to both and formed its religiously legitimate attitude through the chain of tradition. It was in this sense that the Orthodox paper published a report about a religious service in the Hungarian kollel in Jerusalem.

*The members of the Hungarian Kollel came together in the temple beautifully decorated with the sacred relics and the Hungarian national flag and it was a moving scene when the grey-haired patriarch Rabbi Sonnenfeld, in the presence of the consular representatives, prayed before the open Ark of the Covenant for the salvation and prosperity of the Hungarian homeland and the Hungarian head-of-state.*¹⁰⁸

The principle behind the reception of the cult of Saint Stephen was the principle of loyalty to the state. Naturally, it was not in the frame of the Christian interpretation that they joined in this cult, but in the spirit of religious respect for the crowned head and modern statehood. This is clearly reflected in the speech made on the occasion by Chief Rabbi Jozsef Chajim Sonnenfeld (1848–1932), who projected the frames of the modern nation back into the past to trace the portrait of the head-of-state in the community recruiting Orthodox and Chasidic members before the Hungarian ambassador, referring obliquely also to the deteriorating social situation of the Jews in Hungary.

*We have come together to pay our grateful respects on the Hungarian national day, the day that rightly marks the foundation of the Hungarian state. The day when 930 years ago King Stephen was crowned first king of Hungary, one of history's most outstanding statesmen. During his long and beneficent rule Hungary was a land of promise for people of different religions and nationalities, and the followers of the Jewish religion, too, enjoyed full civil and religious freedom.*¹⁰⁹

¹⁰³ Mór Schik (Wien), Hungarian and Orthodox Trianon – To the special attention of our competent circles, *Zsidó Ujság* August 5, 1927/5.

¹⁰⁴ News – Greeting Lord Rothermere, *Zsidó Ujság* July 22, 1927/12.

¹⁰⁵ The Rothermere action and the Jews of the annexed territory. The Jews too can receive aid from the Lord's donation of 100,000 pengős, *Zsidó Ujság* September 9, 1927/2; Loyalty of the Slovensko Jews (Rothermere action), *Zsidó Ujság* September 16, 1927/1.

¹⁰⁶ News – Rothermere's message on denominational conflicts, *Zsidó Ujság* October 28, 1927/10–11; The noble lord and his Jewish friends, *Zsidó Ujság* December 9, 1927/3.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. ZEIDLER 2009: 220; ROMSICS 2005: 180–182.

¹⁰⁸ Celebration of August 20 in the Hungarian Kollel in Jerusalem – Speech in Hebrew by Chief Rabbi Sonnenfeld –, *Zsidó Ujság* August 30, 1929/4.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

Another fine example of the idea of integrity through revision interpreted within religious frames is found in the letters from readers,¹¹⁰ tracing the unity of Hungary back to the most respected Talmud commentator, Rashi of Troyes¹¹¹ [Rabbi Shlomo Itzhaki (1040–1105)].

If we think that in the lifetime of Rashi (1040–1105) Hungary, founded in 896, was only barely 150 years old and so was still in the period when things were taking shape, we can be doubly amazed at how well informed was a Jewish scholar living in France about this great wreath bordering the Carpathians. And if we consider that it is impossible to learn especially the Talmud without Rashi, we can see what a fearsome proponent and mighty weapon of the idea of Hungarian integrity is the almost thousand-year-old commentary of Rashi.¹¹²

– was the parallel they drew between political discourse in thousand-year-old Hungary and the thousand-year-old Talmud commentary.

In his explanation the rebbe of Munkács, R. Chájim Eleázár Spirá (1871–1937) also placed the phenomenon of civil religion within religious frames.

Every nation has its genius ("szár") in the heavens that it must preserve, and a hastily formed state that does not have a guardian angel cannot survive; such a state must sooner or later disintegrate into its constituent parts... – he used to say. After the change of direction that occurred six months ago, everyone understood the conclusion that had been reached years ago under the Czech regime by the great Hungarian-spirited Chief Rabbi Spira z. c. l.¹¹³ and it is well known that he raised his only child in this spirit, too, and that her husband is now Chief Rabbi Baruch Rabinowitz.¹¹⁴

Nevertheless, the analyses in the Orthodox press of the series of euphoric articles¹¹⁵

¹¹⁰ Dr. Jakob Fischer, Rashi as the supreme expression of the idea of Hungarian integrity, *Zsidó Ujság* August 6, 1926/8; Reprinted in: Rashi and Hungary, *Orthodox Zsidó Ujság* August 21, 1940/3; Emil Stern (Szolyva), From the Carpathians to Troyes, *Orthodox Zsidó Ujság* September 1, 1940/2.

¹¹¹ Another frequent interpretation of this mosaic word is: Rabban Sel Jiszroel – Teacher of Israel or Rab-benu SeJichje – Our teacher, may he live long!

¹¹² *Zsidó Ujság* August 6, 1926/8. Rashi, as the first person to express the idea of Hungarian integrity – Dr. Jakob Fischer.

¹¹³ May his just memory be blessed!

¹¹⁴ Notes on a journey to Munkács, *Orthodox Zsidó Ujság* May 10, 1939/4.

¹¹⁵ Upper Hungary: Religious communities in Upper Hungary, *Zsidó Ujság* October 25, 1938/2; Samu Kahan-Frankl, president of the Orthodox Central Office, Greetings!, *Zsidó Ujság* November 4, 1938/1; Special meeting of Jewish leaders to mark the return of Upper Hungary, *Zsidó Ujság* November 4, 1938/2; Dezső Korein, After twenty years of suffering, *Zsidó Ujság* November 4, 1938/3; Blessing and peace, *Zsidó Ujság* November 4, 1938/4; Hail to the homecomers!, *Zsidó Ujság* November 11, 1938/1; Common Hungarian-Polish border, *Zsidó Ujság* November 11, 1938/2; Thanksgiving ceremonies in the communities, *Zsidó Ujság* November 11, 1938/3; Thousands of Hungarian-spirited Jews transferred from Slovensko to Hungary, *Zsidó Ujság* November 11, 1938/4; From the history of the returned religious communities I – Dunaszerdahely, *Zsidó Ujság* November 25, 1938/5; From the history of returned Dunaszerdahely II, *Zsidó Ujság* December 2, 1938/5; Letter from Ungvár and Munkács, *Zsidó Ujság* December 2, 1938/7; The Regent celebrated in the returned communities, *Zsidó Ujság* December 16, 1938/5; From the history of returned Dunaszerdahely III, *Zsidó Ujság* December 16, 1938/10; From the history of returned Komárom, *Zsidó Ujság* December 30, 1938/7; From the history of returned Komárom II, *Orthodox Zsidó Ujság* January 20, 1939; From the history of returned Komárom III, *Orthodox Zsidó Ujság* February 1, 1939/10–11; From the history of returned Galánta I, *Orthodox Zsidó Ujság* February 20, 1939/6; From the history of returned Galánta II, *Orthodox Zsidó Ujság* March 1, 1939/10; From the history of returned Galánta III, *Orthodox Zsidó Ujság* March 10, 1939/5; From the history of returned Up-

presenting the “returned big communities” following the changes made to the borders during the Second World War clearly show that they closely linked the social situation of the Jews with the social tensions caused by the Trianon borders. The Jews expected that the elimination of the Trianon borders would bring a return to the good old days, the state of legal and social affairs that existed during the Monarchy.¹¹⁶ In the Orthodox understanding, they hoped that the revision would bring the deepening of religiosity striving for traditionalism and the strengthening of the Orthodox institutions.

CONCLUSIONS

The modification of the borders created an entirely new situation for all three Jewish strategies. Geographical and social borders changed, leading to demographic and institutional changes. In the case of Neology these changes were accompanied by an increase in the relative proportion of the trend in the midst of a change in the concept of nation that the strategy represented by the press interpreted as a temporary, anomaly-like state in the hope of the return of the “golden age”. The self-definition of Neology and the attitude towards the concept of nation served to defend the earlier states. For the Zionist movement, the changes brought a shift out of its peripheral position, an increase in the importance of the movement and a new opportunity to become an alternative. For Orthodoxy the change brought a reduction in numerical proportion, it resulted in the loss of the Yiddish and *jüdisch-deutsch*-speaking communities; the border became an unbridgeable reality of religious life. However, like the Zionist movement, they interpreted the change in the concept of nation and the social borders as confirmation of their own strategy.

The Hungarian symbolic politics linked to the borders had a different impact on each of the strategies, one that was closely related to the self-image of the different groups. The

per Hungary – Ógyalla-Bagota (In Hebrew by: Rabbi Ábrahám Schwarcz, Vágsellye), *Orthodox Zsidó Ujság* March 20, 1939/11; The returned communities from Upper Hungary – Ungvár I–III (In Hebrew by: Rabbi Ábrahám Schwarcz, Vágsellyén), *Orthodox Zsidó Ujság* April 20, 1939/4 – May 1, 1939/6 – May 10, 1939/9; From the history of returned Kassa I–III (In Hebrew by: Rabbi Ábrahám Schwarcz, Vágsellye), *Orthodox Zsidó Ujság* July 10, 1939/4 – July 20, 1939/5. – August 1, 1939/4; From the history of returned Upper Hungary – Vágvecse I–III, *Orthodox Zsidó Ujság* August 20, 1939/6 – September 1, 1939/6 – September 13, 1939/6; On the anniversary of the return of Upper Hungary, *Orthodox Zsidó Ujság* November 2, 1939/1.

Subcarpathia: Greetings, Subcarpathia!, *Orthodox Zsidó Ujság* March 20, 1939/1; From the history of returned Huszt I–II (In Hebrew by: Rabbi Ábrahám Schwarcz, Vágsellye), *Orthodox Zsidó Ujság* June 10, 1939/7 – June 20, 1939/4; The talk in Munkács today, *Orthodox Zsidó Ujság* April 1, 1940/3.

Transylvania: On the return of Transylvania, *Orthodox Zsidó Ujság* September 10, 1940/3; The Kolozsvár anthem, *Orthodox Zsidó Ujság* September 20, 1940/1; From Orthodox life in Transylvania, *Orthodox Zsidó Ujság* September 20, 1940/3; The Jews of Transylvania II – Margita, *Orthodox Zsidó Ujság* October 1, 1940/6; Returned communities III, *Orthodox Zsidó Ujság* October 16, 1940/3; Our Jewish brethren in Transylvania, *Orthodox Zsidó Ujság* November 8, 1940/1; Returned communities IV, *Orthodox Zsidó Ujság* November 22, 1940/3; Returned Nagyvárad, *Orthodox Zsidó Ujság* January 1, 1941/5–6.

Southern Hungary: Welcome, Southern Hungary!, *Orthodox Zsidó Ujság* April 24, 1941/3; Hungarian loyalty of the Jews of Southern Hungary (By: Mózes Stern, secretary of the Sephardic-Orthodox community of Zenta), *Orthodox Zsidó Ujság* May 10, 1941/1.

¹¹⁶ Dezső Korein: Elimination of Trianon, *Orthodox Zsidó Ujság* September 10, 1940/5.

phenomenon can be interpreted in the light of the multivocality of the symbols intended to represent the content of civil religion. The symbols used combined a wide variety of contents and offered the opportunity to integrate a wide variety of groups separated by the shifting social borders. Neology's interpretation drew a parallel between the cult of civil religion linked to Trianon and the change in the social situation and status within the nation of the denominational trend. Zionism, as a strategy of dissimulation, stressed its ideal of an independent nation and loyalty to the majority nation, emphasising the parallels between the phenomena and cults. It supported the legitimacy of the Jewish nation ideal with the aspirations of the Hungarian nation ideal. Orthodoxy reinterpreted the "topoi" of the period with the intention of deepening piety. The loss and social crisis caused by Trianon appeared in its traditional conception of the Everlasting punishing/rewarding His people, for society and the Orthodox communities it offered *t'shuva teve*, the alternative to conversion as a problem-handling model, embodied in a return to the religious way of life and community morality. The question of borders became the question of the renewed institutional unity of the big congregations pursuing the traditional religious way of life, which they considered had a general impact on Jews aspiring for traditionalism. In this self-interpretation, the latter could have become the context for the return of the Jews who had set out on the path of modernity in Hungarian society in the interwar years.

But the press discourses cannot be regarded as merely institutional strategies. Behind them lay individual life careers, severed family and livelihood bonds, broken fates, as well as the social reality and conflict of those who fled to Hungary, providing grounds for the representation of phenomena linked to the borders at the level of everyday routines and interpretations.

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Kegyeleti (Jahrzeitslicht) emlék-mausoleum.
Jahrzeit-mécses. Finom nickelezett fém-ből, kristály-
 üveggel. Egyszersmind becses szobadísznek szolgál.
 A melylyel drága halottaínk kegyeletének áldozunk.

Ára 40 korona.

Rayon-képviselők és ügynökök kerestetnek.

Kapható:

MOLNÁR M. LAJOS
 szerkesztőnél, „Modern Kereskedelmi Szemle”
 Budapest, VII., Rottenbille-utca 10. — Prospectus ingyen.

Figure 1. Commemorative candles for the anniversary of the parents' death, with Tablets of the Law, Star of David and Turul bird at the turn of the century (*Egyenlőség*, 1910)



Figure 2. Grave of Dr. Illés Adler, Neolog rabbi with Turul bird in the interwar years
(Zsidó Évkönyv, 5688)



A KOLOMEAI LAKOSSÁG HÓDOLÁSA.
KÁROLY KIRÁLY KÖRÜTVE A FELSZABADÍTOTT KELET-GALICZIÁBAN.

Figure 3. Charles IV with First World War Jewish soldiers Galician Jews (*Vasárnapi Újság*)

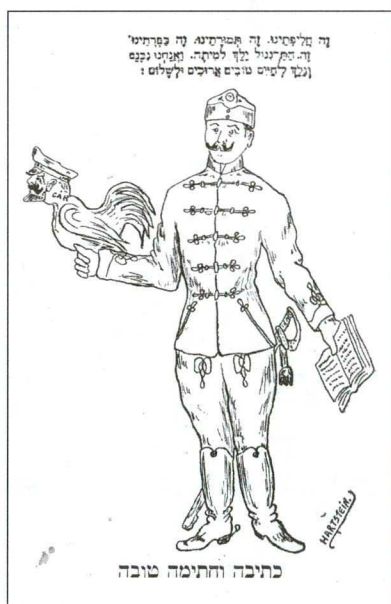


Figure 4. First World War propagandistic greeting card: soldier performing the kapparah ritual with a rooster in the image of the Tsar (Zemplén Múzeum, Szerencs)

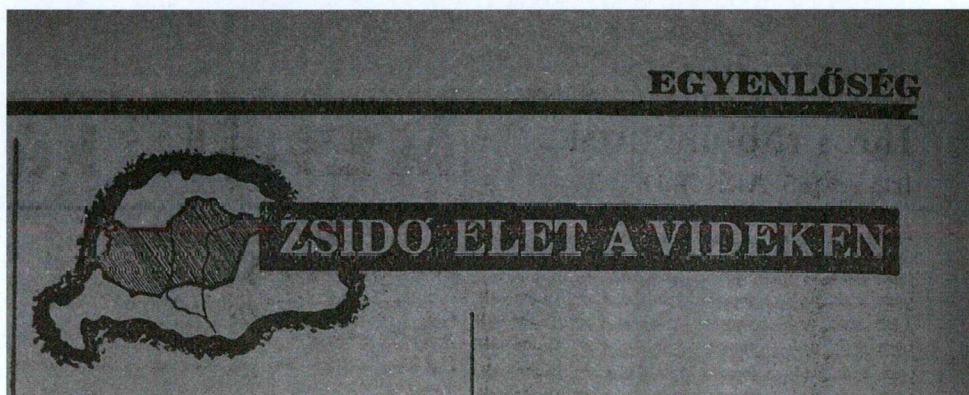


Figure 5. Banner title from the weekly *Egyenlőség* portraying post-Trianon Hungary (*Egyenlőség*, 1937)



Figure 6. Niszon Kahan, president of the Hungarian Zionist Federation (Postcard, private collection)



Figure 7. First World War propagandistic greeting card: First World War Jewish soldiers (Hungarian Jewish Archives)



Figure 8. Portrait of Lord Rothermere by Philip de László

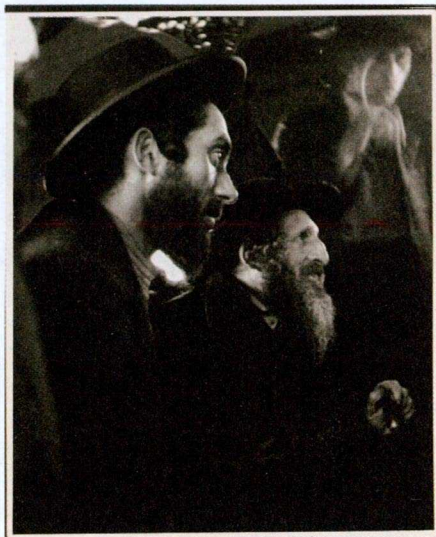


Figure 9. Chasid Jews on a train (Photo: Miklós Müller, Csongrád County Museum)



Figure 10. Young Chasid pilgrims from Makó before the First and Second World War – wall of tablets of the Neolog and Orthodox congregation in the courtyard of the Orthodox synagogue, 2004

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